

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ARA-10

EA-09 NEA-10 SAM-01 /101 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5620

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY

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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, US, WA

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA: AMBASSDOR MOYNIHAN'S
STATEMENT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN'S JANUARY 29
STATEMENT IN SECURITY COUNCIL, CONCERNING NAMIBIA:

QUOTE

THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS BEFORE IT FOUR BASIC QUESTIONS
AS IT PONDERES WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS IT MAY TAKE REGARDING
THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. THESE FOUR QUESTIONS ARE AS GERMANE
AND TIMELY TODAY AS THEY WERE A HALF-YEAR AGO -- INDEED, AS
THEY WERE ALMOST A DECADE AGO WHEN AS MANY OF MY DISTINGUISHED
COLLEAGUES HAVE REMARKED AT THIS COUNCIL TABLE, THE GENERA
ASSEMBLY DECLARED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD FORFEITED ITS MANDATE
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FOR NAMIBIA. THESE FOUR QUESTIONS ARE:

1. WHETHER THERE IS A REAL COMMITMENT BY SOUTH AFRICA TO A COURSE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND RESPECT FOR THEIR RIGHTS;

2. THE TIMING OF STEPS TOWARD SELF-DETERMINATION ONCE THAT PRINCIPLE IS ACCEPTED BY SOUTH AFRICA;

3. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER ALL NAMIBIANS OF WHAT-EVER COLOR, POLITICAL AFFILIATION OR SOCIAL ORIGIN WOULD HAVE THEIR VOICES HEARD IN DETERMINING THE FUTURE OF THEIR NATION; AND

4. THE UNITED NATIONS ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

OVER THE PAST YEAR THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT IT IS FINALLY RECOGNIZING ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS IN NAMIBIA AND THE NEED TO IMPLEMENT A PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THAT TERRITORY. STATEMENTS BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SUGGEST THAT SOUTH AFRICA MAY FINALLY BE BEGINNING TO HEED THE INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY AGAINST ITS CONTINUING ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. THE DISTINGUISHED UNITED NATIONS COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA, WHO IS PRESENT IN THIS COUNCIL CHAMBER, HAS TOLD US THAT HE TOO SENSES THAT DIFFERENCES OVER NAMIBIA HAVE NARROWED, ARE NARROWING, AND CAN CONTINUE TO NARROW.

FOR OUR PART THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS EVERY EXPECTATION, GIVEN THE TEMPER AND TONE OF THE DEBATE WE HAVE HAD SO FAR, AND THE CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE OF THE SUGGESTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE, THAT WE WILL EMERGE IN AGREEMENT WITH A RESOLUTION THAT WILL INDEED CONSTITUTE A FURTHER NARROWING SUCH AS THE COMMISSIONER HAS ENVISAGED. I WOULD NOT LIKE TO LET THIS OPPORTUNITY PASS WITHOUT EXPRESSING THE ENORMOUS RESPECT WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HOLDS THE WORK OF MR. MACBRIDE.

YET, DESPITE THESE ENCOURAGING SIGNS, WE STILL HAVE NO CLEAR ANSWER FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON THE FOUR UNCLASSIFIED

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MAJOR QUESTIONS I HAVE POSED. SOUTH AFRICA HAS REMAINED SILENT OR AMBIGUOUS IN ITS RESPONSE TO THESE QUESTIONS. THERE HAS BEEN NO DEFINITIVE STATEMENT BY SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES ON THE TIMING OF STEPS TOWARD SELF -DETERMINATION -- AND HERE I ALLUDE TO THE COMMENT OF MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUE, THE AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN, AS TO THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE TERM "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE". MANY NAMIBIAN GROUPS HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE STEPS SO FAR TAKEN; SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO DENY

THE UNITED NATIONS A ROLE IN THE TRANSITION.

THIS PAST SEPTEMBER, SOUTH AFRICAN CONVENED A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN WINDHOEK TO DECIDE ON THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY WHILE REPRESENTATIVES OF ETHNIC GROUPS TOOK AN ACTIVE PART IN THIS CONFERENCE, SIGNIFICANT GROUPS IN NAMIBIA WERE NOT ALLOWED REPRESENTATION. POLITICAL GROUPS INCLUDING SWAPO, THE

NAMIBIAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AND OTHER HAVING SUPPORT OF SIGNIFICANT PORTIONS OF THE NAMIBIAN POPULATION WERE NOT PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE. NO UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER WAS ABLE TO MONITOR THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE. FOR OUR PART, THE UNITED STATES FINDS THAT THIS CONFERENCE AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED CANNOT BE REGARDED AS A DEFINITIVE EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. WE HAVE TOLD THIS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN CLEAR AND UNMISTAKABLE TERMS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AT WINDHOEK WAS A START. THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF MY OWN COUNTRY GOES BACK SOME TWO CENTURIES, AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE LEARNED FROM THAT HISTORY TO PAY RESPECTFUL ATTENTION TO ANY BEGINNING, WHATSOEVER ITS PATRONAGE, HOWEVER UNCERTAIN. NOR IS THE UNITED NATIONS TODAY COMPRISED OF NATIONS WHOSE GOVERNMENTS CAN BOAST SUCH AN IMPECCABLE CONSTITUTIONAL PEDIGREE AS TO WARRANT OUR COLLECTIVE DISDAIN FOR WHATEVER HAS SO FAR OCCURRED IN NAMIBIA. THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY THERE; THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY IN MOST PLACES. YET STILL, IN NAMIBIA, MEN AND WOMEN TRAVEL HOPEFULLY. THIS IS NO SMALL THING; INDEED IT IS A GREAT THING, AND THE UNITED STATES, FOR ONE, LOOKS FORWARD TO WELCOMING THEM TO THE COMPANY OF FREE PEOPLE, AND DEVOUTLY HOPES TO SEE THEIR FREEDOM FLOURISH.

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WE BELIEVE ACCORDINGLY THAT IT IS NOW MORE THAN EVER INCUM-
BENT ON SOUTH AFRICA TO ANNOUNCE A STRAIGHTFORWARD AN UN-
AMIGUOUS PLAN BY WHICH NAMIBIANS WILL BE ALLOWED TO MAKE A
FREE CHOICE OF THEIR POLITICAL FUTURE. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES
THAT A SINGLE ELECTORAL PROCESS SHOULD BE HELD THROUGHOUT
NAMIBIA WITH THE CAREFUL SUPERVISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO
ALLOW THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE ON THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL
STRUCTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY. RECOGNIZING THE WIDE ETHNIC AND
POLITICAL DIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA -- A CONDITION OF WHICH THAT NATION
WHICH IS BY NO MEANS SINGULAR, BUT A CONDITION NONTHELESS- SUCH A
DECISION COULD ONLY AFTER A PERIOD IN WHICH ALL THE PEOPLE
OF NAMIBIA AND ALL POLITICAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS WERE ALLOWED
TO ELABORATE THEIR VIEWS AND TO CAMPAIGN FOR THEIR VIEWS.
ONLY THROUGH AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND A DISCUSSION OF THEIR
POLITICAL FUTURE WILL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA EVER BE ABLE
TO MAKE A GENUINE CHOICE OVER THEIR FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS.
ONLY THROUGH CAREFUL UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION WILL THE INTER-
NATIONAL COMMUNITY BE ASSURED THAT THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS
HAS BEEN EXECUTED FREELY WITHOUT UNDUE PRESSURE OR INTERFERENCE
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BY OUTSIDE FORCES. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT HTIS SUPER-
VISION SHOULD BE WORKED OUT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BETWEEN THE
UNITED NATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND
ENCOURAGES BOTH PARTIES TO MEET AND MAKE THE NECESSARY ARRANGE-
MENTS.

MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE THIS POSITION CLEAR TO THE GOVERN-
MENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. WE HAVE TRIED TO
IMPRESS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THE URGENCY OF RESOLV-
ING THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION QUICKLY AND PEACEFULLY. MOST
RECENTLY ON OCTOBER 23, MY GOVERNMENT, IN COORDINATION WITH
THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE, OUTLINED SUCH
AN ELECTORAL PROCESS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREGIN MINISTER.
WHILE CONTINUING TO PRESS SOUTH AFRICAN IN DIPLOMATIC CHANNALS,
WE ALSO HAVE CONTINUED TO SUSTAIN OUR PRESENT POLICIES TOWARD
SOUTH AFRICA. WE CONTINUE TO DISCOURAGE UNITED STATES INVEST-
MENT IN NAMIBIA. WE CONTINUE TO WITHHOLD UNITED STATES GOVERN-

MENT PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INVESTMENTS
BASED ON RIGHTS ACQUIRED THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
AFTER 1966, -- WHICH WE HAVE DONE
SINCE THE 1966 RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TERMINATING THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRUSTEESHIP. IN ADDITION,
THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PROHIBIT THE
SHIPMENTS OF AMERICAN ARMS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO SOUTH
AFRICA. WE CONTINUE TO ENFORCE AND OBSERVE THIS EMBARGO
NOT BECAUSE WE ARE REQUIRED TO DO SO BY ANY INTERNATIONAL
ENACTMENT - WE ARE NOT. WE CONTINUE, HOWEVER, TO INVITE
ALL NATIONS WHO SO DESIRE TO JOIN US IN THIS VOLUNTARY POLICY
OF DENYING ARMS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WHICH IS OUR
POLICY.

I ALSO WISH TO PUT TO REST AT THIS POINT THE BIZARRE
SUGGESTION WHICH WE HAVE HEARD WITH SOME FREQUENCY IN THE HALLS,
THOUGH HAPPILY NOT AT THIS CONFERENCE TABLE, THAT THE UNITED
STATES IS IN SOME WAY INTERESTED IN ESTABLISHING MILITARY
BASES IN AFRICA, EVEN IN THAT PART OF AFRICA WHERE NAMIBIA
IS LOCATED. THESE ARE SUGGESTIONS THAT INVITE INCREDULITY
AS A RESPONSE, BUT AS THEY CONTINUE TO BE MADE THEY AROUSE NOT
A LITTLE SUSPICION THAT THERE IS SOME QUALITY OF WHAT
PSYCHOANALYSTS CALL PROJECTION -- WHICH IS
TO SAY THAT THERE MAY BE PEOPLE WHO, THEMSELVES DESIRING
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TO ESTABLISH BASES, ASSUME THAT EVERYONE ELSE DOES AS WELL.
WELL, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT.

IN CONCLUSION, MR. PRESIDENT, LET ME SAY THAT THE UNITED
STATES BELIEVES THAT THIS COUNCIL HAS A SERIOUS AND UNIQUE
RESPONSIBILITY FOR NAMIBIA AND A SINGULAR OPPORTUNITY.
WE BELIEVE THAT IS IS INCUMBENT THAT THE COUNCIL REITERATE
THE SHARED VIEWS OF ITS MEMBERS ON THE FUTURE FO NAMIBIA. IT
IS OUR DUTY TO FOSTER A PEACEFUL RESOLUTON OF THE NAMIBIAN
PROBLEM, AND TO ENCOURAGE PUBLICY THE PROCESS OF SELF-
DETERMINATION IN THE AREA, IN THE TERRITORY, IN THAT
NATION. WHILE IT IS INDEED DISCOURAGING THAT SOUTH AFRICAN
HAS NOT MOVED QUICKLY TO BRING THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO SELF-
DETERMINATION WITH UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION, WE MUST NOT
LET UP NOT ABANDON OUR EFFORTS TO MAKE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION
TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM, AND LET US STRIVE TO IMPRESS UPON
THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THE URGENCY AND THE JUSTICE
OF LEETING THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE.

THANK YOU, SIR. UNQUOTE
MOYNIHAN

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